

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF PUERTO RICO**

-----X
RUTH CALDERÓN-CARDONA, et al.,

Civil Action No.: 08-1367

Plaintiffs,

vs.

DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA,
a.k.a. NORTH KOREA, et al., .

Defendants.

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REPORT OF PROFESSOR BARRY RUBIN

I, Barry Rubin, of Chevy Chase, MD, declare pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, as follows:

A. Professional Background

1. I am the director of the Global Research in International Affairs Center (GLORIA) at the, Interdisciplinary University (IDC), in Hertzelia, Israel, as well as a member of the faculty. I am also a senior fellow at the IDC's International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism. I hold a doctorate from Georgetown University, a master's degree from Rutgers University, and a bachelor's degree from Richmond College.

2. Throughout my academic career, I have held a number of professorships worldwide, including a position at the Hebrew University, Israel, 1994-1995; visiting professor, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey (Summer 1995); and professor of Political

Science, Bar-Ilan University, Israel (1995-1996). From 1994-2002, I was Deputy Director of the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University. More recently, I was the Seymour & Lillian Abensohn Visiting Professor in Israel Studies, The American University (2005-2006).

3. In addition to these positions, I have served as a visiting fellow at several academic and policy institutes, including a National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship in Arabic (1977-78); a senior fellowship in Middle East Studies, Georgetown University Center for Strategic & International Studies (1978-1985); senior fellowship, Washington Institute for Near East Policy (1988-1991); senior fellowship and professorship, Foreign Policy Institute, Johns Hopkins University SAIS, (1986-1993); and a Fullbright fellowship, Haifa and Tel Aviv Universities (1990-1991).

4. I have been the recipient of numerous grants from a variety of institutions, including a grant from the U.S. Institute of Peace to study Arab-Israeli peace process (1989-1991); a research grant from the Harry Guggenheim Foundation to study PLO policy and terrorism (1990); a grant from the Leonard Davis Center, Hebrew University for research on U.S. Middle East policy (1993-1994); a grant from the Begin-Sadat Center at Bar-Ilan University for research on Israel's Middle East policy (1994-95); and three grants from Bradley Foundation, for a study of American allies (1998-1999), on armed forces of the Middle East (2000-2001), and on Anti-Americanism (2002-2003).

5. From 1985-1986, I served as the foreign policy adviser for United States Senator Gary Hart.

6. At present, I am the editor and publisher of the *Middle East Review of International Affairs*. I am also a member of the editorial board of the *Middle East Quarterly*. I

edit the Palgrave Macmillan's *Middle East in Focus* series and the Taylor & Francis Middle East military/strategic series. I am a syndicated Middle East columnist for the *Jerusalem Post*.

7. I have written and edited many books and articles on the topics of international relations, Middle East, Palestinian politics, and global terrorism. Specifically, I have authored the followings works on Palestinian history and terrorism: *The Arab States and the Palestine Conflict*, Syracuse University Press (1981); *Cauldron of Turmoil: America in the Middle East*, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich (1992); *Revolution Until Victory?: The Politics and History of the PLO*, Harvard University Press (1994); *The Transformation of Palestinian Politics*, Harvard University Press (1999); *The Tragedy of the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press (2002); and *Yasir Arafat: A Political Biography*, Oxford University Press (2003). I have also authored political studies of totalitarian regimes, including *Modern Dictators: Third World Coupmakers, Strongmen, and Populist Tyrants*, McGraw-Hill (1987) and *The Truth About Syria*, Palgrave-MacMillan (2007).

8. Throughout my academic career, I have published hundreds of articles and monographs on international relations and terrorism. I have written extensively on the subject of Palestinians and the PLO: "Egypt and the Palestine Question, 1922-1939," in *Essays on Israel and Palestine* (Wiener Library, 1978); *The PLO's Intractable Foreign Policy*, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1986; *The PLO – A Declaration of Independence?*, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus No. 8, November 1988; *Inside the PLO: Officials, Notables, and Revolutionaries*, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Focus No. 12, December 1989; *The PLO's New Policy: Evolution Until Victory?* Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Paper #13 (June 1989); "The Origins of PLO Terrorism," in Barry Rubin, *Terrorism and Politics*, St. Martins Press (1991); "The PLO After the Gulf Crisis," in

Robb Satloff, *The Politics of Change in the Middle East*, Westview (1993); *The PLO Between Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism*, Hebrew University Sassoon Center (1993); "The United States and Iraq" and "The PLO and Iraq" in Amatzia Baram and Barry Rubin, *Iraq's Road to War*, St. Martins (1994); *The Palestinian Charter: Prospects for Change and Options for Israel*, BESA Center (1996);

9. "Misperceptions and Perfect Understanding: The US and the PLO," in Avram Sela and Moshe Ma'oz, *The PLO and Israel, From Armed Struggle to Political Settlement*, St. Martins Press, (1997); "Israel, The Palestinian Authority, And the Arab States," *MERIA Journal*, Vol. 1 No. 4 (December 1997); After Arafat: Succession and Stability in Palestinian Politics," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 2 No. 1 (March 1998); *Israel, The Palestinians, and The Arab States*, BESA Center (1998); "The Future of Palestinian Politics: Factions, Frictions, and Functions," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (September 2000); "The Palestinian Movement: From Catastrophe to Disaster," in Robert O. Freedman *The Middle East Enters the 21st Century*, University of Florida Press, (2002); "Geopolitique du territoire controversé et d'un éventuel Etat Palestinien," in *Frontieres Palestiniennes Regards Croisés des Geographes*, Geographes Associes (2004); "The Decline and fall of the Palestinian nationalist movement," in Barry Rubin, *Political Islam*, Vol. II, Routledge (2007); and "Israel and the Palestinians," in Robert O. Freedman, *Contemporary Israel*, Westview Press (2008).

10. On the topic of North Korea and its connection to the Middle East, I wrote *North Korea's Threat to the Middle East and the Middle East's Threat to Asia*, Begin-Sadat Center (1997). I have also written on US-North Korean relations in "Lessons from Iran" in Alexander T.

J. Lennon and Camille Eiss, *Reshaping Rogue States: Preemption, Regime Change, and U.S. Policy toward Iran, Iraq, and North Korea*, MIT Press (2004).

11. I have served as an expert witness on contemporary Middle Eastern history.
12. A copy of my resume is attached hereto as Appendix "A".

B. Nature of This Expert Witness Report

13. I have been asked by counsel for the plaintiffs in the case of Calderon et al. v. Democratic People's Republic of Korea et al., to provide my professional opinion as to whether the defendants in this action provided material support, resources, training, weapons and refuge to the Japanese Red Army and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which jointly perpetrated the Lod Airport massacre of 1972, during the period relevant to that terrorist attack.

14. My opinion as set forth below is based upon my academic studies, research, teaching and publishing over the course of many years as director of an international relations institute, senior fellow at a counter-terrorism institute, and lecturer at numerous academic institutions. During the course of my professional career and academic research, I have obtained information from interviews with political leaders and captured terrorists, reviews of documents, periodicals, credible news reports, discussions with reliable journalists, government publications, and scholarly works, as well as from my own observations and experiences living in the Middle East.

15. Moreover, in preparing this opinion, I have examined the complaint filed by the plaintiffs against the defendants.

C. Historical Context

16. The 1972 Lod Airport massacre brought together three different forces, which all had largely parallel ideologies, goals, interests, and methods: the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea, the defendants in this action), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and the Japanese Red Army (JRA).

17. North Korea was and is a communist regime but it is also one marked with special characteristics. The three key points were its extremist militancy (compared to the USSR and China); its recklessness, systematically taking high levels of risk; and its desire to carve out an independent role for itself in promoting revolution and developing clients in the Middle East.

18. More broadly, North Korea's goals were to help create additional communist states which would provide it with strategic and economic support, with Japan as a leading target. Closely associated with this was the desire to discredit the United States, show it to be unable to protect allies, and to destroy countries friendly to America. Israel fell into that category both as a direct target and as a symbolic target.

19. The ability to strike against Israel would, North Korean policymakers believe, greatly increase their regime's popularity and attractiveness as an ally within the Arab world. It should be remembered that in those years North Korea was fighting a battle against its South Korean rival for diplomatic and trade relations with the Arabic-speaking states. To show themselves as the friends of the Palestinian revolution and as able to hurt Israel would advance North Korean objectives.

20. In May 1972, when the Lod Airport attack took place, and during the preceding years, the situation seemed a promising one for radical revolutionary movements in the Third World generally and in the Middle East in particular. Neo-Marxist groups like the PFLP, a small, communist faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), had gained much support in the region following the defeat of Arab states by Israel in 1967. With bases of support in such places as Algeria, Egypt, South Yemen, Syria, and Iraq, they thought they were on the verge of huge victories. North Korea wanted to be seen as a key patron which shared in the benefits of their attacks and successes.

21. Along with Latin America—too distant for North Korea to have much of a role—the Middle East was the central arena for revolutionary action and terrorism. Since the PLO had such strong sponsorship from the USSR and a number of Arab states, North Korea could not compete in becoming its patron. The PFLP was a smaller group which needed help and its semi-Marxist ideology was also more appealing to Pyongyang.

22. The third partner, the JRA, was by far the weakest. The JRA's goal was to find foreign sponsorship (North Korea) and exploit the PFLP's revolutionary cachet to build its own reputation. The PFLP formed an alliance with the JRA, in part because it reasoned that Japanese, as opposed to Arab, terrorists would not arouse the suspicion of Israeli security forces. For North Korea, the JRA provided an asset against Japan, its main target for subversion after South Korea. The partnership, then, was based on mutual need and benefit.

23. With the failure of Arab conventional arms, in the 1967 Israeli-Arab war, and subsequent reluctance of Arab states to engage Israel militarily, terrorism became the main front in the battle to destroy the Jewish state from 1968 until 1973, when the Yom Kippur War brought a new round of conventional fighting. For its part, the PFLP was a pioneer in developing

new forms of terrorism, particularly airplane hijacking and aviation-related attacks, which terrorized the Western world for the better part of two decades. Israeli and other counter-measures at the time were relatively undeveloped and thus vulnerable to this new strategy. Hence, a terror attack on an aviation-related target uniquely fit the trio's operational needs.

D. PFLP

24. The PFLP was created in a merger of several radical nationalist groups in December 1967. Its leader, George Habash was a Palestinian Christian—one reason why he found Fatah too Islamic conservative for his tastes—born in 1926. Because he was more cosmopolitan than his rivals, he was successful at building alliances with a broad range of terrorists ranging from Venezuelan-born “Carlos” to European terrorist Marxist groups, to the JRA and North Korea. He saw the PFLP as part of an international anti-imperialist and anti-American movement.

25. The PFLP claimed to represent a *mélange* of Arab nationalism, revolutionary intent, and Marxism. In setting up its world view, the group sought to contrast itself to Fatah, its principal rival.

26. Fatah was Palestinian nationalist; the PFLP favored Pan-Arab nationalism, the idea that all Arabs should be part of a single nation-state. Fatah deliberately had no ideology and never considered what kind of system it would establish when it obtained victory. In contrast, the PFLP said it wanted a socialist state, though this was a very vague doctrine in its ranks. Finally, as a consequence of the other two points, the PFLP favored the overthrow of most existing Arab regimes (though it worked closely with Syria) while, in general, Fatah sought to work with them.

27. While the PFLP always favored a strategy based on anti-civilian terrorism, this strategy was enhanced by the Palestinian defeat by Jordan's army and expulsion from that country in September 1970. These events allowed the PFLP to argue that Arab countries were unreliable allies, that international terrorism was necessary since the Palestinians lacked a strong base from which to attack Israel, and that the cause was in danger of defeat and so needed spectacular attacks that would give it publicity, frighten the West out of supporting Israel, and show Palestinians as well as Arabs in general that terrorism worked and that the PFLP was their rightful leader.

28. Specifically, the PFLP's terrorist campaign against Israel was based on three goals:

- i. A belief that terrorism would succeed in destroying Israel by breaking its morale and making it impossible for that country to function.
- ii. To show the PFLP was the most effective Palestinian movement and thus to win state sponsorship and popular support.
- iii. To create a crisis which would lead to another Arab-Israeli war, forcing Arab states to fight Israel.

29. Hence, the more bloody and "outrageous" the attack, the better it would be. The PFLP did not have to worry about antagonizing its constituency through horrendous violence since the Arab world and the Palestinians supported such things. As a smaller group, it needed to stage particularly publicized attacks since it could only do fewer of them.

30. The first PFLP hijacking was in July 1968. A particularly publicized effort to seize an airliner took place in August 1969. Such operations also led to the arrest and imprisonment of the PFLP cadre which brought about additional attacks to free them.

31. The biggest such operation was the September 1970 hijacking of TWA, Pan American, Swissair, and British passenger planes which were flown to Jordan or Egypt, blown up, and all their passengers held hostage. This led to a confrontation with the Jordanians which resulted in the deaths of approximately ten thousand Palestinians and culminated in a huge defeat for the Palestinians, which was given the ominous name "Black September."

32. Afterward, the PFLP and Fatah (which created the Black September group, named after the 1970 Jordanian crackdown) competed for support by staging terrorist attacks. The PLO carried out the 1972 Munich Olympics attack, and the Lod Airport operation was the PFLP's attempt to outshine the PLO. Another factor in choosing an airport was with the increased anti-hijacking efforts, which made a direct attack on an airport – as opposed to hijacking in mid-air -- seem a more viable substitute. There was also an historical connection: Lod was Habash's home town.

E. North Korea's Connections to the PFLP

33. At this time, North Korea had decided to make a major effort in the Middle East. Lacking money, advanced military equipment, or political influence, its main asset was a willingness and ability to assist in terrorist operations. Between six and ten training camps were established and ultimately around 3,000 to 4,000 terrorists (a large proportion Palestinian) were trained there during the period, while others were given safe haven. North Korea was then what Afghanistan would become in the 1990s.

34. Among the shorter and fuller courses were those on bomb-making, kidnapping, assassination, propaganda, and guerrilla warfare. North Korea supplied Palestinian groups with a wide variety of arms. Since North Korean weapons were inferior to those in the arsenals of

China and the USSR, the country had to find more marginal clients who didn't already have superior equipment from other sources. The relationship was important enough for the PFLP that, in September 1970, Habash himself visited Pyongyang, a visit much feted in the state-controlled North Korean media. It should be noted that the North Koreans welcomed Habash even though the PFLP already had been involved in attacks on Israeli airliners including the bombing in February of a Swiss Air plane headed to Israel, killing 47 passengers. Moreover, while Habash was actually in North Korea seeking material support for his organization, his PFLP operatives hijacked four western passenger planes, took three of the airliners to the Dawson Field airstrip in Jordan, and blew them up. During this visit, it is widely believed that Habash was brought by the defendants to meet with fugitives of the JRA, who had hijacked a Japanese airliner to North Korea.

35. North Korea was acting more independently than it had in earlier years, when China had been its patron, while a focus on internal issues reduced Beijing's involvement in the business of promoting revolution and terrorism abroad. At the same time, North Korea was using terrorist methods in its attempts to subvert South Korea thus gaining expertise in such matters.

36. While the North Koreans worked with the PFLP, they simultaneously continued contacts with the PLO, a group which the PFLP would enter and leave on many occasions. North Korean support for the PLO was demonstrated in a telegram sent by Kim Il Sung to Yassir Arafat, chairman of the PLO (*The Pyongyang Times*, May 18, 1970): "The Korean people express full support to and firm solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people who are valiantly fighting in arms to smash U.S. imperialism and the Israeli aggressors, its stooges, and to liberate their fatherland." After October 1971, Fatah and the PLO increasingly became Soviet

clients which both meant that these contacts were also enhanced for North Korea but that in addition Pyongyang could “specialize” more in the PFLP to have its own market “niche.”

F. North Korea’s Connections to the JRA

37. The Japanese Red Army was a radical Communist group founded in 1969 and for which the March 1970 hijacking was its first operation, carried out by nine members. It is important to note that almost from the start it was largely dependent on safe haven, financing, logistics, training, and international connections on North Korea. At its height the Japanese Red Army numbered only forty members. In contrast to most terrorist groups, it was completely dependent on North Korean sponsorship without backing from China, the Soviet Union or any Arab state.

38. Similarly, one of the most important special assets North Korea possessed was its link to the JRA, over which it had exclusive patronage. Among the best things it could offer the PFLP was its own links to the JRA. The JRA, in turn, functioned as a “cut-out” – an intermediary through which Pyongyang’s connections with the PFLP could be disguised. The North Korean relationship with the JRA began around 1970 when JRA hijackers of a Japanese passenger plane took refuge in North Korea. Despite condemnation from the west, and the demand by the Japanese government to turn over the JRA hijackers, North Korea defiantly provided them safe haven and allowed them to continue their revolutionary activities without fear of punishment or capture. Throughout the JRA’s murderous and terrorist history, it received material support and resources from North Korea, which made such support and integral part of its foreign policy.

G. The Creation of the DPRK-JRA-PFLP Alliance

39. JRA leaders had developed their own direct contacts with the PFLP and some had received training in Beirut. With the prospects so poor for starting a revolution in Japan, the organization found the state of the Palestinian struggle far more advanced. However, being no longer able to function in Japan, as much of their leadership had either been arrested, killed or relocated to North Korea, the North Korean center played a key role since it was the place from which contacts with Japan were maintained and new cadre recruited. Thus, North Korea and North Korean Intelligence became the primary patrons of the JRA and greatly influenced its direction and policies.

40. The best account of North Korea-JRA relations comes from the testimony of Kozo Okamoto, the only surviving terrorist from the Lod attack. He had been ordered, while still a student in Japan, by the JRA to arrange the showing of a film on JRA-PFLP cooperation in setting off a world revolution. A joint JRA-PFLP delegation attended the showing.

41. Kozo Okamoto recounts that he was brought into the JRA by his brother, Takashi, who had been one of those who had hijacked a Japanese passenger plane to North Korea in March 1970. Takashi, who was based in Pyongyang and close to North Korean intelligence, sent him to Beirut for military training with the PFLP in September 1971 for a seven week course. At the end of the course, he was told he had been selected for the Lod operation.

42. Aside from Okamoto and his brother, two other JRA terrorists show the link between North Korea and the Japanese group. Yoshimi Tanaka, a senior JRA member and another of the March 1970 hijackers, was arrested eighteen years later in Thailand. At the time of his arrest, he was holding a North Korean diplomatic passport and traveling with North Korean

diplomats. Clearly, he was functioning as a North Korean agent, among the original group recruited at the same time as the future Lod terrorists.

43. Another contact and source of information was the wife of one of the 1970 hijackers who, after her arrest in March 2002, testified that she had received orders from JRA leader Takamaro Tamiya who, in turn, followed the commands of the North Korean government. Under this chain of command she helped kidnap a Japanese student to North Korea, among other operations.

H. Lod Attack

44. On September 16, 1970, Habash arrived in North Korea with a plan: recruit JRA members to carry out attacks for the PFLP. Habash visited the JRA hijackers accompanied by North Korean officials, to make the request. This was the start of the Lod operation.

45. The Lod attack of May 30, 1972, was under the leadership of the PFLP but required the participation of the three JRA terrorists. It could not have been implemented without them, since the airport was not accessible to PFLP gunmen, who, as Middle Easterners, would arouse suspicion. It was also vital for the operation that all PFLP-JRA contacts came about under North Korean auspices.

46. During the preparation, the JRA cadre were trained either in North Korea or, in the case of Kozo Okamoto, were sent through earlier training with the PFLP arranged by North Korean intelligence assets. The same technique, incidentally, was used later with the JRA serving as intermediaries with a group in the Philippines. JRA cadre traveled between North Korea and Lebanon — and subsequently to Israel — with plentiful funds, which could have come only from the North Koreans.

47. The other two terrorists at Lod, who were both killed during the attack, Takashi Okudaira, the commander, and Yasuyuki Yasuda had both been trained by the PFLP and spent considerable time with the group in Lebanon.

48. Kozo Okamoto was tried and convicted for his role in the Lod Airport massacre in 1972. He was eventually released as part of a Palestinian-Israeli prisoner release in 1985.

49. I have reviewed and am familiar with the court decision handed down by the Israeli military court in the criminal prosecution of Kozo Okamoto dated July 17, 1972.

50. In this decision, which found Okamoto guilty of participation in the attack, the court found that the attack was a joint operation of the PFLP and the Japanese Red Army. Attached hereto as appendix "B" is an English translation of the court decision.

51. Several credible news sources, including The New York Times, reported several months after the Lod Airport massacre that State Department Spokesman Charles W. Bray confirmed that North Korea had been supplying arms and other military assistance to Arab terrorists prior to the Lod Airport attack. According to evidence later presented to a Congressional Committee on May 14, 1975, at least some of the JRA terrorists who committed the Lod Airport Massacre were actually trained in North Korea.

52. In his 1977 book, Guerrillas and Terrorists, (Ret.) Maj-Gen Richard Clutterbuck, a chief army instructor of the Royal College of Defense Studies and a professor of political conflict, summarized the activities of the three Lod Airport terrorists prior to the attack, including their connection to North Korea:

As it was difficult to train with live ammunition in Japan, they went to North Korea for training. Here they were recruited by the P.F.L.P. and moved to a refugee camp in Lebanon for final training and briefing. From there they went to Frankfurt, where they were equipped with false papers, and then to Rome where they each collected a suitcase containing Czech weapons and ammunition. These suitcases were

loaded as passenger baggage without search in the hold of an Air France aircraft bound for Lod Airport. On arrival, they opened their suitcases in the baggage lobby and opened fire indiscriminately, killing twenty-four people, mainly Puerto Rican Christian pilgrims on their way to Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and wounding seventy-two others. Two of the Japanese were killed by their own fire, and the third was captured.

I. Conclusion

53. The 1972 Lod Airport massacre was the consummation of a tri-partite relationship between North Korea, the JRA, and the PFLP. North Korea provided both terrorist groups with material support, resources, training, weapons, and refuge. North Korea financed, armed and trained the groups that perpetrated the Lod Airport massacre, while providing sanctuary to the leadership of the JRA. The seeds of the Lod Airport massacre were sown in 1970, when Habash first traveled to North Korea and met with both the North Korean intelligence agencies and the JRA leadership. North Korea was, therefore, the nexus of a relationship that resulted in the heinous murder and maiming of innocents at the Israeli airport. The attack was the logical consequence of North Korean foreign policy and its aspirations to export communist ideology and revolution throughout the West. The massacre was viewed by the North Korean government (as well as by the JRA and PFLP) as a model operation and important victory.

54. North Korea consistently provided material support for the JRA and PFLP, harbored JRA terrorist fugitives, trained the terrorists, and gave them financial support. The allegations in the plaintiff's complaint are well founded and comport fully with official policies and actions of the defendant at the time relevant to this action.

I declare, under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America, that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on November 24, 2009


Barry Rubin

EXHIBIT A

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PRINCIPAL POSITION

Professor and Director, Global Research in International Affairs (GLORIA) Center, Interdisciplinary University (2001-).

OTHER POSITIONS

Visiting Senior Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy (2007)
Editor and Publisher, Covenant (2006-)
Editor and Publisher, Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA) Journal (1996-).
Editor, Turkish Studies (1999-)
Syndicated Middle East columnist, Jerusalem Post (1998-).
Editor, Middle East in Focus series, Palgrave-Macmillan Press.
Editor, Middle East military/strategic series. Taylor & Francis publishers.
Editorial Board, Middle East Quarterly (2006-)

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

Seymour & Lillian Abensohn Visiting Professor in Israel Studies, The American University, (2005-2006)
Deputy Director, BESA Center, Bar-Ilan University (1994-2002).
Professor of Political Science, Bar-Ilan University (1995-1996).
Visiting Professor, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, Summer 1995.
Professor, Hebrew University, Rothberg School, 1994-1995.
Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Institute and professor, Johns Hopkins University SAIS, 1986-1993.
Senior Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1988-1991.
Fulbright Fellow, Haifa and Tel Aviv universities, 1990-91.
Senior Analyst, Orkand Corporation 1986-1990.
Foreign policy adviser, Senate staff, Senator Gary Hart, 1985-86.
Senior Fellow in Middle East Studies, Georgetown University Center for Strategic & International Studies, 1978-1985.

EDUCATION

Georgetown University, PhD, 1978.
Rutgers University, MA, 1974.
Richmond College, BA, Magna cum Laude, 1972.

BOOKS

Nazi Germany and the Middle East, with Wolfgang Schwanitz, Yale University Press (in press)

Children of Dolhinov: A Town Amidst Time

History of Islam, (Otto publishers (2008)

The Future of the Middle East, Sharpe (2008)

The Truth About Syria, Palgrave-MacMillan (2007); paperback, 2008.

The Iranian Revolution and the Resurgence of Islam, Otto publishers (2006)

The Middle East Since 1991, Otto (2006).

The Long War for Freedom: The Arab Struggle for Democracy in the Middle East, John Wiley Publishers (2005).

Hating America: A History, Oxford University Press (2004); paperback, 2006.

Yasir Arafat: A Political Biography Oxford University Press 2003; paperback, 2005.
British/Commonwealth edition: Continuum 2003. Australian edition: Allan & Unwin. Italian edition: Mondadori, 2004; Hebrew edition, Yediot Aharnot, 2005; Turkish edition, Aykiri Yayincilik, 2005

The Tragedy of the Middle East, Cambridge University Press (2002); paperback 2004. Korean edition: Hanul Publishing, 2005.

Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics, Second Revised Edition Palgrave Press (2002, 2008).

Istanbul Intrigues, Bosphorus University Press (2002). Turkish edition, Dogan (third printing, 2007).

The Transformation of Palestinian Politics, Harvard University Press (Cambridge, Ma., 1999). Paperback 2001.

Revolution Until Victory?: The Politics and History of the PLO, Harvard University Press, 1994. (two printings). Paperback, Harvard University Press, 1996.

Assimilation and its Discontents, Times/Random House, 1995.

Cauldron of Turmoil: America in the Middle East, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1992.

Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics, St. Martin's Press (U.S.) and MacMillan (British edition), 1991.

Istanbul Intrigues, McGraw-Hill, 1989. Paperback, Pharos/MacMillan, 1992. Turkish edition Istanbul Entrikalari, Milliyet Yayinlari, (Istanbul, 1994), three printings (1996, 1999).

Modern Dictators: Third World Coupmakers, Strongmen, and Populist Tyrants, McGraw-Hill, 1987. British edition, WH Allen, 1987; paperback, New American Library/Meridian, 1988 (two printings).

Secrets of State: The State Department and The Struggle Over U.S. Foreign Policy, Oxford University Press, 1985; paperback, 1987 (two printings).

The Arab States and the Palestine Conflict Syracuse University Press, hardcover and paperback, 1981 (three printings).

Paved with Good Intentions: The American Experience and Iran Oxford University Press, hardcover, 1980 (three printings); Viking/Penguin, paperback, 1981 (five printings). Published in Persian as The War for Power in Iran (Tehran, multiple printings of which the latest is 1992).

The Great Powers in the Middle East 1941-1947: The Road to Cold War Frank Cass, 1981.

How Others Report Us: America in the Foreign Press Sage, 1979.

International News & The American Media Sage, 1977.

EDITED BOOKS

The West and the Middle East, four volumes (Taylor & Francis, 2010).

Israel: A Textbook, Yale University Press (In press)

The Muslim Brotherhood: A Global Islamist Movement (Palgrave-Macmillan, in press)

Conflict and Insurgency in the Contemporary Middle East (Taylor & Francis, 2009)

Lebanon: Liberation, Independence, and Crisis (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2009)

Barry Rubin, The Media in the Middle East (Sharpe, 2009, in press)

Barry Rubin, The Middle East, eight volumes (Sharpe, 2009, in press)

Barry Rubin, Iraq After Saddam (Sharpe, 2009, in press)

Barry Rubin, Global Survey of Islamism (Sharpe, 2009, in press)

The Israel-Arab Reader co-editor, Viking/Penguin, Seventh Edition (2008).

Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin, Chronologies of Modern Terrorism, (Sharpe, 2008).

Barry Rubin, Political Islam, three volumes, (Routledge, 2006)

Barry Rubin and Ali Carkoglu, Religion and Politics in Turkey (Taylor & Francis, 2006).

Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin, Loathing America (Global Research in International Affairs Center, 2004).

Barry Rubin and Ali Carkoglu, Greek-Turkish Relations in an Era of Détente (Frank Cass, 2004)

Barry Rubin and Ziya Onis, Turkey's Economic Crisis (Frank Cass, 2003).

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Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin, Anti-American Terrorism and the Middle East (Oxford University Press, 2002); paperback 2004.

Barry Rubin and Metin Heper, Political Parties in Turkey (Frank Cass, 2002).

Contemporary Islamist Movements in the Middle East (SUNY Press, 2001). Turkish Edition: Avrasya, Ankara, 2002.

The Region at the Center of the World: Crises and Quandries in the Contemporary Persian Gulf, (Frank Cass., 2002).

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TEACHING

American University, 2005-2006

Democratic Reform in the Middle East; Israel in International Affairs, Spring 2006

Israeli Society, Fall 2005.

Bar-Ilan University, 1995-1996

U.S. Policy and the Middle East seminar (graduate) and Revolutionary Movements in the Middle East seminar, Fall 1995 and Spring 1996.

Hebrew University, 1992-1995

U.S. Policy and the Middle East, Summer 1992, Fall 1994; International Terrorism, Spring 1994; Arab-Israeli Peace Process seminar (graduate), Fall 1994; Spring 1995. Arab-Israeli Peace Process (undergraduate course), Spring 1995; Arab Politics, Spring 1995.

Tel Aviv University, 1991-1994

Spring 1991, Summer 1992, Spring, Summer, and Autumn 1993, Spring, Summer 1994, Israeli Politics; Spring 1991, U.S. Policy and the Middle East.

Haifa University, 1991

Comparative Dictatorships, Spring 1991.

Johns Hopkins SAIS, 1985-1991

Autumn 1991, Terrorism & Counterterrorism; Autumn 1988 and Autumn 1989, History of Terrorism; 1983, 1984, 1985, and spring 1987, the U.S. and the Middle East; co-taught U.S. Foreign Policy Since 1945, summer 1985.

Georgetown University, 1981-1982

School of Foreign Service, Spring 1982, Middle East Politics; Spring 1981, Iran and America.

Anne Arundel Community College, Spring 1977, U.S. History, 2 courses.

Frederick Community College, Fall 1976, U.S. History, 2 courses.

HONORS/GRANTS

Visiting Scholar, Georgetown University (2001-2002)

Senior Fellow, Truman Center, Hebrew University (1989-). Director, Distance Learning Project.

Senior Fellow, Jewish-Arab Center, Haifa University 1994-).

Listed in Outstanding Writers of the Twentieth Century, Outstanding Intellectuals of the 21st Century, Contemporary Authors.

Received grants from Bradley Foundation for a study of American allies (1998-1999), on armed forces of the Middle East (2000-2001), and on Anti-Americanism (2002-2003).

Grantee, BESA Center, Bar-Ilan University (1994-95) for research on Israel's Middle East policy.

Grantee, Leonard Davis Center, Hebrew University (1993-1994) for research on U.S. Middle East policy.

Harry Guggenheim Foundation, PLO policy and terrorism, 1990.

Grantee, U.S. Institute of Peace, 1989-1991, Arab-Israeli peace process.

Listed in Who's Who in America, 1985-86 edition to present. Who's Who in the World, 2000 edition to present.

Director, Johns Hopkins University SAIS program on terrorism funded by the Ford and the Bradley Foundations (1986-1992).

Visiting Fellow, Dayan Center for Middle East Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1987-88.

Council on Foreign Relations/National Endowment for the Humanities, International Affairs Fellow, 1984-85.

USIA Speaking Trip to Middle East and South Asia, 1982.

German Marshall Fund grant for research in Africa, 1980.

World Press Freedom Committee grant, 1978-1979.

National Defense Foreign Language Fellow (Arabic), 1977-78.

LANGUAGES

French, Hebrew, Arabic.

CONSULTING

Consultant, U.S. House of Representatives, Task Force to Investigate Certain Allegations Concerning the Holding of American Hostages by Iran in 1980 ("October Surprise"), 1992.

Principal Investigator, Regional Conflicts in the Middle East, Office of Net Assessments, Defense Department, 1989-90 (Orkand).

Principal Investigator, Projection of Middle East Politics, Economics, and Military Affairs, U.S. Army, 1988-89 (Orkand).

Co-principal Investigator, The New Generation in Arab Politics, study for U.S. government, 1988-89. (Orkand).

Principal Investigator, Egyptian fundamentalism, for U.S. government, 1988-89. (Orkand)

Senior Analyst, Study on Narcopolitics in Latin America, for the U.S. Department of Defense, 1987-88. (Orkand).

Principal Investigator, Study on Iran's Armed Forces and Persian Gulf Contingencies for U.S. Army. 1986-87. (Orkand).

U.S.-Iran Relations, State Department study, 1982-83.

USSR and the Third World, Defense Department study, 1982-83.

PUBLIC SERVICE

Editor, The Sentinel, quarterly journal of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Historical Society (2001-).

International Advisory Board, Centre for Israeli Studies, University College London.

Editorial Board, Turkish magazine of Ari movement.

Vice-President, Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel (1999-2000).